

They Didn't Join the Band: Disaffected Women in Revolutionary Philadelphia

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The first anniversary of American independence in Philadelphia, as chronicled by *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, was celebrated on July 4, 1777, with "demonstrations of joy and festivity." The holiday schedule got under way at noon with a display of ships and galleys on the river "dressed in the gayest manner," each of which fired thirteen times. Triple discharges of cannon followed the nautical salutes. Loud huzzas resounded throughout the city while a brigade of North Carolina troops accompanied by a corps of mounted soldiers and artillerymen marched down Second Street. Evening brought on the ringing of Philadelphia's bells and night closed in with a "grand exhibition of fireworks" whose glow bathed a united community. The newspaper report concluded that "everything was conducted with the greatest order and decorum and the face of joy and gladness was universal."¹

This description of America's first anniversary of the Fourth of July would not be unfamiliar to Philadelphians today, or for that matter, to most Americans. The noise, the color, the parades, the fireworks—all these have been consistent fixtures of Independence celebrations down to the present day. The unanimity of sentiment, however, so prominently featured in the first anniversary account, masked a number of citizens' ambivalence or outright hostility concerning the Fourth of July message. One such citizen wrote a very different description of exactly the same day in 1777:

This being the anniversary of the declaration of independence, at 12 o'clock, the vessels were all hauled up and fired and about 4, the firing of Cannon began which was terrible to hear, about 6 the troops paraded thro' the streets with great pomp tho' many of them were Barefoot and looked very unhealthy and in the evening were illuminations and those people's windows were broke who put no candles in, we had 15 broke.²

There is little discrepancy in the events which were reported in the above two accounts but in the latter, written by Sarah Fisher, a young Quaker wife and mother, there is sarcasm ("The vessels were all hauled up"), annoyance with the noise, and disgust at the soldiers' raggedy appearance. Her agreement with *The Pennsylvania Gazette* ended with the major happenings of the day. As a person who refused to join the party, she differed with the newspaper on the order and decorum aspect of the celebration. Her windows were smashed because she did not join in the celebration by illuminating her house. While precluded by her religious beliefs from participating in festivities which glorified the war, she also followed her own political inclina-

tions in withholding her cheers from the Anniversary day crowds. Mrs. Fisher wanted a return to the thriving community of her upbringing whose growth, prosperity, and peace had bloomed under British rule. She had no confidence in those who proposed to overturn that rule and her family did not hide its opinion. Her house was consequently vandalized that night of July 4, 1777. Many of her neighbors could tell a similar tale.

A substantial portion of the city of Philadelphia did not wear "the face of joy and gladness." This community of "the disaffected," traditionally neglected by historians, possessed a number of articulate female observers.³ To examine their experience of the Revolution is a profitable exercise. As members of the outgroup, their view of the Revolution in Philadelphia focused on the inconsistencies and hypocrisy of the Whig side whose adherents wrote our history. Second, as women, their view and course of action differed from Loyalist men. They wrote about the daily struggle of families in wartime. Prominent Philadelphia Loyalist men like Joseph Galloway, Samuel Fisher, and James Allen wrote about politics more than they did about their own experiences within the community. Joseph Galloway lived and breathed politics and what little remains of his letters reflects this fact. James Allen, a prominent lawyer, began his diary with the promise that he would write about private affairs, leaving the public news to other hands. But the events of 1776 overpowered his original intention. His diary reads largely as a recitation of the battles and political actions he did not witness first-hand. While providing fascinating detail about his cellmates in prison, Samuel Fisher devoted long passages to political matters. Since many men penned largely public histories, the women's writings are all the more precious for the picture they provide of families under tremendous pressure in the midst of a civil war. Such testimony is important because it provides a more realistic picture of the ways in which ordinary people assessed revolutionary propaganda and interpreted the dramatic happenings in their communities. These diaries were written on a daily basis and leave a record of fresh emotions concerning what was happening in the city. Such reactions from ordinary people are key in understanding how wars are won or lost. The Continental Congress could not afford to overlook, and indeed did not ignore, the lives of ordinary people, as subsequent historians have been wont to do. These writings provide the seldom-seen perspective of ordinary folk sifting through new ideas and events as they coped with the mundane but pressing demands of their daily lives.

Although their religious and gender roles prevented them from actively participating in the conflict, these women as individuals were in the thick of things and held strong political opinions which they expressed in the only avenue available to them—their writings. One such character was Hannah Griffiths whose poem on the happenings of July 4, 1777, labeled as misguided those patriots who flung rocks into Mrs. Fisher's home:

Our Don Quixotes of false guessings
Direct their balls and lead the van
Mistook the Tories for the Hessians
and Quakers for poor Englishmen.⁴

In addition to the events of the Revolution in Philadelphia as seen by these shrewd observers, this paper examines their own mental journey from stalwart believers in the Old Order to resigned citizens of the New Republic. This resignation is not only a function of the Whig military victory or the decisions reached by their husbands. Thanks to their own dramatic experiences, these women arrived at a mental and emotional place in 1783 where they made a certain kind of peace, however grudging, with their new rulers. To understand their writings, it is necessary to understand the world that confronted them in 1775-76.

The Women

Sarah Logan Fisher (1751-1796) was a member of a well-to-do family both before and after her marriage. In the summer of 1776, however, she was a member of a suspect community (Quakers) and the wife of "an enemy of the Country." Despite her husband's earlier support of non-importation, he could not bring himself to endorse independence. Thomas Fisher's business was consequently well-nigh destroyed and the privacy of his wife's home violated by armed bands looking for blankets, lead, or whatever other commodity figured on the current Committee list. Sarah Fisher's moment of crisis prompted her to start a diary. With the exception of Elizabeth Drinker, the disaffected women of this study also started writing in earnest when their crisis was most profound. Their writings provided an outlet, especially important because their sex precluded them from the more active participation of their husbands.

Grace Growden Galloway (d. 1782) began her diary in June of 1778 when she found herself separated from her husband, Joseph, and her daughter, Elizabeth. Joseph was forced to leave the city after the British occupation because he had accepted the post of Commissioner of Police during the occupation, making him the chief collaborator and notorious traitor in the eyes of the Whigs. Grace did not join the flight of her family, staying behind to try to salvage as much of the family's property as possible. Mrs. Galloway was in her forties when she plunged from society matron to homeless woman living off the charity of an accommodating neighbor.

Rebecca Shoemaker (d. 1819) and her daughter Anna Rawle (1757-1828) started their diaries when the family broke up in 1778. Like the Fishers and Drinkers, Samuel Shoemaker signed the anti-Stamp Act memorials in 1765, but like Galloway, Shoemaker held a high-profile post with the police during the British occupation. A former mayor of the city, he was forced to depart with the British army, leaving his wife and daughters to be evicted from their home. Mrs. Shoemaker joined her husband in New York in 1780 and communicated with her daughters in Philadelphia by exchange of their diaries.

Elizabeth Drinker (1735-1807) started her diary in 1758. It began as a record of domestic details—visits received, visits made, health problems of her growing family. Her first political entry, a note on the repeal of the Stamp Act, was made in May, 1766; the next did not occur until 1773 when her husband, Henry, a tea consignee, was obliged to meet an ad-hoc Committee at its coffeehouse headquarters to assure them that he would not land the tea. As the Revolution closed in around her, Mrs. Drinker's diary entries grew from two to three lines per day to whole paragraphs in 1776-77. When her husband was arrested and banished to Virginia in September, 1777, she found herself in a war-torn city with six small children.

The four major subjects of this study thus faced a revolution without their husbands. Although experiencing a high level of stress, they carried on with the help of what Sarah Fisher termed "a superior aid." Fisher further noted that "besides the anxiety of being separated from my dearest Tomy and the thoughtfulness naturally arising from an expectation of being hourly confined to my Chamber, I have to think and provide everything for my family at a time when it is difficult to provide anything at almost any price."⁵

The three Quaker women (Fisher, Shoemaker and Drinker) found succor in their tight-knit religious community. Not of that fold, Mrs. Galloway, an Anglican, ached with loneliness but nonetheless persisted in her struggle to save her property. The writings of these women provided a much-needed outlet. Rebecca Shoemaker mused on her increased literary output when she wrote to her daughters: "What a scribbler I am grown; it seems my chief business."⁶

The Story

While tending their children and running their households, the Rawles and Galloways, the Fishers and the Drinkers must have noted with growing alarm that the level of inflamed rhetoric escalated considerably following the revised Tea Act of 1773. After Lexington and Concord, the women could not have missed the conversations engendered by newspaper articles on ministerial machinations, the perfidy of Parliament, and the fall of ancient empires. With increasing frequency, those who were accused of cursing the Presbyterians, reviling the people of Boston, or ridiculing Congress were forced to issue public apologies in the city's newspapers. In May, 1775, Galloway, husband of Grace and former Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly, denied reports that he insulted members of Congress or wrote letters to Great Britain that were "inimical to America." Yet in the summer of 1775 (at least in public print) to oppose separation from the mother country was not to be "inimical." John Hancock, the radical from Boston, couched his arguments for liberty in the assumption that the colonies and Britain should continue an "uninterrupted intercourse of mutual benefits." He went on to say that "we Chearfully consent" to the acts restricting trade passed prior to 1763.⁷

However conciliatory radical leaders appeared in the press, they nevertheless called for the arming of the community, urging participation of all levels of society in military exercises. Even women were formally addressed by Congress to supply

both homespun and linen for bandages. The now-galvanized and empowered masses, bristling for action, let loose their new-found fervor on opponents within their own community. Elizabeth Drinker noted that Doctor John Kearsley, a well-known Tory physician in town, was taken up by the mob in late 1775, and in the process his hand was bayoneted. In the summer of 1776, a riot near the barracks spread to the home of another Loyalist, Lawrence Fegan, whose property was destroyed and wife wounded. This rush of mob activity prompted the Committee of Safety to order that no person "unfriendly to the cause of liberty" should be punished by anyone other than the Committee.⁸

These violent commotions prompted the Quakers to clarify their situation through a series of public statements in late 1775 and again in early 1776. The Quakers explained—even preached—to their community concerning the special position in which their religious convictions had placed them. The increasingly tense situation led them to step back and reflect on the wantonness and licentiousness of the community. Hoping to mediate an increasingly polarized society, the Quakers hoped to incite "those of inferior stations . . . to pursue those measures which make for peace." For "those in superior stations" there was the hope that "plentiful effusions of the Spirit" would inspire these leaders to realize that "the setting up and putting down kings and governments is God's peculiar prerogative." To meddle in God's work was "to be busy bodies above our station."⁹

The response to the Quaker sermon from high and low stations alike was not the hoped-for rapprochement. According to the Officers of the Military Association, the Quakers should be forced to contribute to the town's defense to reimburse it for their absence on the militia rolls; the Committee of Privates asserted that they threatened the very existence of government "under the pretense of liberty of conscience."¹⁰

As those of the inferior stations so correctly perceived, the Quakers walked a dangerously fine line in abstaining from any support of the Patriot cause. Loyalism in the eyes of Whiggish authorities grew to encompass numerous activities ranging from active support of the British to withholding one's support for the Americans. In his analysis of motivation within the Tory community, Benjamin Franklin included "real attachment to Britain" but said that far more were "dissatisfied with the General Measures of Congress, more because they disapprove of the Men in Power and the measures in their respective states." Significant numbers of Friends were openly censorious of the rebels and advised others not to take up arms. Another way of expressing one's disapproval was the refusal to accept the new continental money. Sarah Fisher's husband, Thomas, and Elizabeth Drinker's brother-in-law, John, were brought before the Committee to face this charge. Explaining in vain their "scruples of conscience," they were branded "enemies to their Country" and as such "precluded from all trade or Intercourse with the inhabitants of these colonies."¹¹

These words were not idle threats. The stores of merchants like Thomas Fisher were broken open by members of the Committee of Safety who "transferred" needed goods to the Committee's storehouse. A probable member of such raiding parties, Christopher Marshall, left a diary of his activities on the Committee of Secrecy

formed to "examine all inimical and suspected persons." To him, "the Quakers, Papist Church and Allen family" (prominent Loyalists) were all of one stripe. In his committee meetings at the coffeehouse, Marshall advised all comers on how to secure persons "inimical to America." At times he participated in their abduction as in the case of one Mrs. Arnett, who was suspected of carrying information from Loyalists in the city to the British army. Marshall led a group of committeemen to the coach stop and waited for Mrs. Arnett to board. Marshall's band then plucked her out of the carriage and took her to Marshall's house where "she was examined, her bundle also but no letters found, upon the whole it appears she had been [a] little unguarded in conversation. . . ." Mrs. Arnett was then released.¹² We can only speculate on how women in the city felt with respect to the temporary abduction and search of one of their sex.

Seizures of goods and persons, property damage, and death threats accelerated through the summer of 1776. By then, Tom Paine's quill had not only penned *Common Sense* but also had engaged in a newspaper battle in which he labelled as "silly" the stock radical line of five months before (that reconciliation was possible and desirable). Some Philadelphians, like Hannah Griffitts, found Paine to be a dangerous character motivated by "lucre":

Paine—tho thy tongue may now run glibber
Warm'd with thy independent glow
Thou art indeed the coldest fibber
I ever knew or wish to know.¹³

While Griffitts saw red, many Americans, including former neutrals, heard Paine's call. In the July 3, 1776, edition of *The Pennsylvania Gazette* on the bottom of page two under the city byline, Philadelphians read the words, "Yesterday the Continental Congress declared the United Colonies Free and Independent States."

In the following issue, news of independence moved to the first page of the *Gazette*. For Loyalist Americans (by this time, anyone not supporting the American cause was considered a Tory) the radicals' high-sounding rhetoric did not square with the experience in Philadelphia's homes and streets. Sarah Fisher was a faithful transcriber of the increasing restrictions on the "disaffected community" as well as the egregious violations of basic liberties countenanced by radical leaders. In December of 1776, she described the animation in Philadelphia's streets:

The Town in very great Confusion, a party of armed Men went about the City to shut up the Shops and break up the Schools by an order of the Committee of Safety . . . in the afternoon a Company of Men came to take Tommy's [her husband] name down and to look at our Servant Boy Jim with an intention if he was big enough to take him by force for a Soldier, but as he was under 15, they left him tho' they took several others not much older.¹⁴

That the city was operating in a military emergency did not justify what in Fisher's view was a breakdown of law and order. When the Committee of Safety published the punishments of those who did not accept the continental currency, the outraged Mrs. Fisher was reminded of the Spanish Inquisition. She summed up her fears for the future by predicting "a most extraordinary instance of arbitrary power and of the Liberty we shall enjoy should their Government ever be established, a tyrannical Government it will prove from weak and wicked Men."¹⁵

Extralegal activity was just as much in evidence down at Elizabeth Drinker's Front Street home. The Philadelphia Committee of Observation and Inspection seized her husband's books and papers, locking up the windows and doors of his store. As a member of the disaffected community, she was forced to house five American soldiers "by order of our present ruling Gentry." She encountered other soldiers at First Day services who had broken into her local Quaker meetinghouse and encamped there.¹⁶

Punitive measures, frequently targetted at the disaffected, fill the pages of these diaries. So also does evidence that at least in the early going, many of the disaffected were not at all cowed. In noting the order to dig trenches protecting the city or suffer severe penalties, Mrs. Fisher claimed, "I did not hear one Person going that I knew . . ." In June, 1777, General Schuyler demanded a thousand blankets from the Quaker community. The meeting responded by sending the general a copy of *Barclay's Apology*, a Quaker tract explaining that the Friends could not assist a war effort in any form. Such defiance raised the ire of John Lansing, Jr., an aide to General Schuyler, who characterized Philadelphia as "the asylum of the disaffected; the very air is contagious and its Inhabitants breathe Toryism." He went on to say that "the Quakers in general are Wolves in Sheep's Cloathing and while they shelter themselves under the pretext of conscientious Scruples, they are the more dangerous." Small wonder that when troops from Maryland sought shelter, they broke into the Quaker meetinghouse. Elsewhere in the diaries are stories of women confronting saucy soldiers and their successful exertions in avoiding mandatory quartering laws. Such instances of defiance became less frequent as the conflict heated up and the British army made its move on Philadelphia. With the Redcoats at the door, resistance became a decidedly riskier proposition.¹⁷

According to Sarah Fisher, the authorities behind these infringements of rights were ambition-ridden rogues. A frustrated Fisher opined, "what shall I call them perhaps infernals would not be too harsh a name for surely their Characters deserve to be stamped with the blackest dye who wish to raise their own fortunes by sacrificing thousands of Lives and the total ruin of their Country." Rebecca Shoemaker came to the same conclusion when she said, 'Ambition has been and will be the ruin of thousands in the present conflict.'¹⁸

If the radical leaders were seen as devious instigators of a latter-day Spanish Inquisition "with hearts depraved by Ambition of the lowest Kind," then their minions in the street could only be of dumb, malleable stuff. The women used two labels in characterizing the radical element—dirty and lower class. Sarah Fisher termed her

husband's incarcerators as "inferior in office." The Committee of Safety in her estimation was little more than "men of very little principle under no Discipline and so intolerably Dirty." Grace Galloway felt that she was robbed by the government to "support a set of low people to the disgrace of their State." Anna Rawle implied her estimation of the radical group in characterizing its currency:

Dirty stuff it was. Some of the Bills were so soiled that it was almost necessary to hold them with a cloth, for one did not know whose hands they had been into.¹⁹

For these women, revolutionary crowds were not associators or militia; they were little better than low-class thugs. That they did not act extemporaneously was understood by Grace Galloway when she laid at the doorstep of the "Mobing Committee" the scarcity of flour, salt, and coffee in the city.

The women of this study seemed to present a seamless front in painting the radical community in the most unflattering colors. But these women were in fact torn individuals. The neighbors with whom they had shared their lives had only recently become supporters of independence. No political designation, however, could change the fact that for years, families conducted business with and did favors for their neighbors who were now on the other side of the ideological divide. While supporting an army of strangers, the Loyalist women could not divorce themselves from their native community. This conflict was most pronounced in an especially virulent critic of American revolutionary government, Sarah Logan Fisher.

While describing the December 1776 Battle of Trenton, Fisher used the phrase "our American army" and "our Whigs," while she called those she had hoped would win "the Tories" and "the English." She had identified herself with the very people she so freely maligned elsewhere in her diary. Even the most extreme rebels were termed "*our* violent People." This association with her neighbors could not be broken even when her husband was arrested. Her misguided neighbors were still "my Countrymen" but now with the addendum, "I am sorry to call them mine." Not only does her language give her away but also her disbelief when she realized that among the prisoners taken at Trenton, there was not one English or Scottish prisoner. They were all Hessians.²⁰

Elizabeth Drinker found herself in the same ambivalent situation. She lamented the death of an acquaintance even though he was part of Washington's army. Anna Rawle greeted the rumor of a British move on Philadelphia in 1781 with mixed emotions. On the one hand, her family might be reunited, a cause for joy. On the other hand, the British objective was rumored to be the burning of her native city. The duality of sentiment present in the minds of these women reflected the larger duality in the community itself. Anna Rawle hit the proverbial nail on the head when she said, "what charms one-half of the people generally distresses the rest."²¹

The women's male counterparts in the Loyalist/Disaffected camp also used the word "ambition" as a negative attribute to characterize the motivation of the Whigs. Joseph Galloway was slightly more indulgent of the lower sort than the women of

this study in labeling the crowds in the street, "the ignorant vulgar." The women are writing at the time of their trial in private diaries and so their language conveys more raw emotion than most of their male counterparts who often wrote histories after the fact. The ongoing inner conflict, so evident in the women, is not a feature of the male psyche as portrayed in the current histories. The Whig-Loyalists, the best candidates for this sustained identity crisis, are pictured by historians like William Allen Benton as men who experienced a "moment of crisis" when they decided they could no longer support the American cause. Once they made their decision, however, they did not look back or waver about their change of affiliation during the war. Although acknowledging a few people who fell between Whiggery and Toryism, Benton claimed that "Whig Loyalists were neither ambivalent nor indecisive."²²

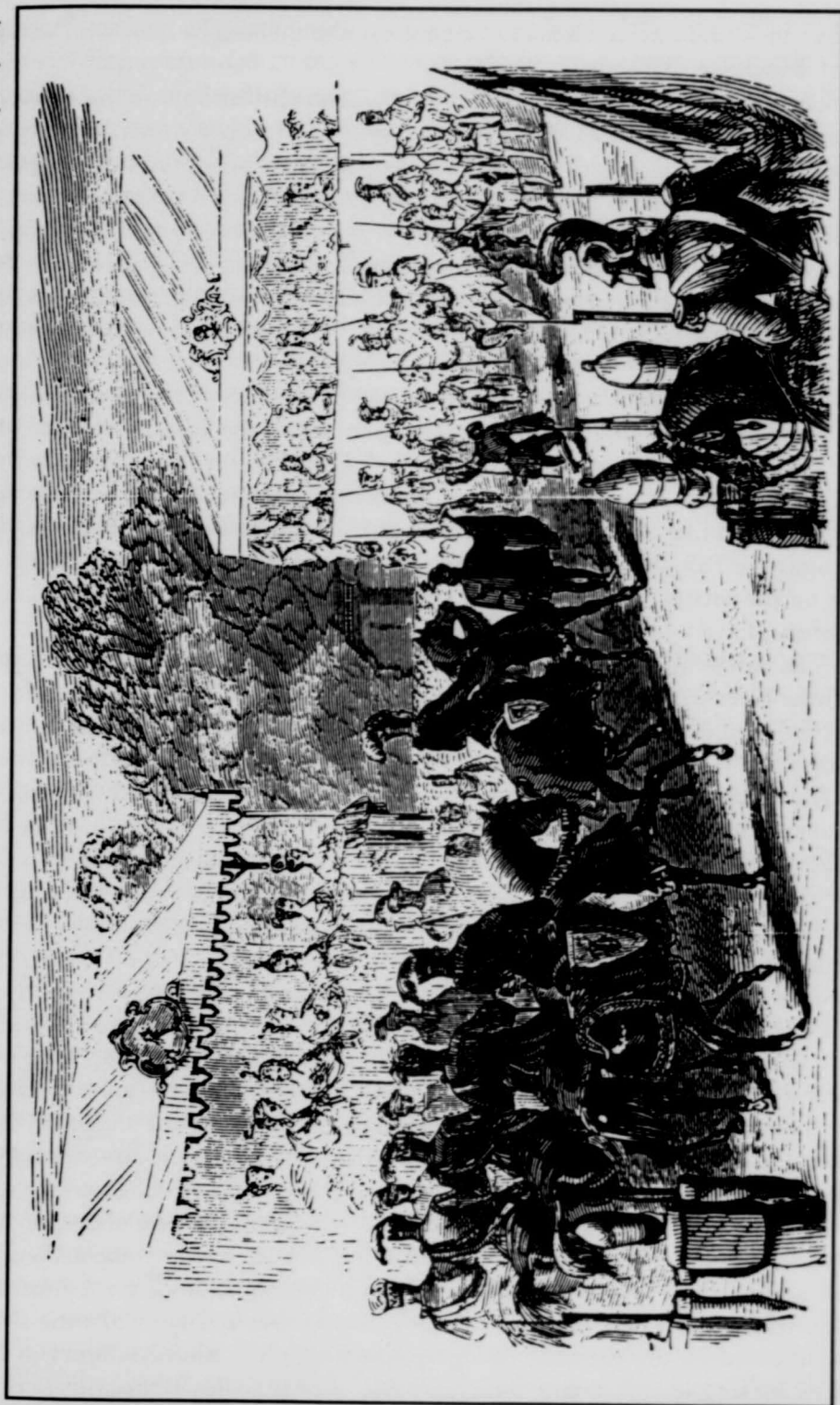
The identity crisis that so troubled the women was somewhat resolved for them by the actions of the revolutionary government on September 2, 1777. The authorities arrested the husbands of Sarah Fisher and Elizabeth Drinker, along with twenty other men, on the grounds of behavior inimical to American liberty. The Executive Council justified its actions in the local press by citing precedents used in similar emergencies and roundly concluding that the arrests were "justified by the conduct of freest nations and the authority of the most judicious civilians."²³ The spouses of the unfortunate men, however, questioned the "authority" as well as the characterization of those who exercised it as "judicious." Both Mrs. Fisher and Mrs. Drinker maintained throughout their ordeal that their husbands did nothing wrong. Wide-eyed with outrage, Elizabeth Drinker found the arrest an illegal, unprecedented action. Sarah Fisher ingenuously stated that her husband's only crime was that he considered himself a subject of Great Britain. Neither comprehended that to profess oneself a subject of the king was to be an enemy of the new United States. Sarah Fisher vented her fury throughout her husband's banishment:

Solitary and alone and feeling as weak as if almost unable to support the painful anxiety of my mind . . . the ravenous Wolves and Lions that prowl about for prey seeking to devour those harmless innocents that don't do Hand in Hand with them in their cruelty and rapine.²⁴

Elizabeth Drinker also picked up the menacing, animal-like quality of her oppressors when she described American troops as "lurking" and "skulking" in Philadelphia's environs. In a short three months, the women had dehumanized their oppressors from ragged and barefoot men to threatening animals.

During the first ten days of September, 1777, the Philadelphia Quaker community went into high gear, distributing hastily written remonstrances that were "thrown about the streets which," Sarah Fisher hoped, "may inform the lower rank of People of the injustice." The women made frantic visits to the Freemason's Lodge where their husbands were detained. With the sounds of the Battle of Brandywine in their ears, Sarah Fisher, seven months pregnant, and Elizabeth Drinker with a dangerously ill child at home, saw their husbands "dragged into the Waggon by force by

Reprinted from John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia* (1857)



The Meschianza at Philadelphia

soldiers" and "drove off surrounded by guards and a mob." The men were on their way to Winchester, Virginia.²⁵

The sense of frenzied movement in the city as the British approached was vividly described by Fisher and Drinker. "Two nights ago," Fisher wrote, "the city was alarmed about 2 o'clock with a great Knocking at People's doors and desiring them to get up that the English . . . would presently be in the City. . . . Waggon's rattling, horses galloping, women running, children crying, Delegates flying and all together the greatest consternation fright and terror that can be imagined." For at least three hours that night, Fisher must have been transfixed before her window, finally noting that "all the Congress mov'd off before 5 o'clock."²⁶ This particular instance proved a false alarm.

Down on Front Street, Elizabeth Drinker had a view of the happenings on the river. She wrote that "the church bells are taken down, the Bridge over Schuylkill taken up and the Ropes across the Ferrys cut." Mrs. Drinker further reported that "we find that most of our neighbors and almost all of the town have been up since one in the morning . . . Congress Council etc. are flown, Boats carriages and foot Padds going off all night . . . Cannon plac'd in some of the streets . . . Fisher's goods taken on the wharfs . . . the sign (over the way) of George Washington taken down this afternoon."²⁷

The British marched into Philadelphia but the sounds of the battle from the Delaware River still shook the beds from under the women. The casualties from the Battle of Germantown streamed into the city, filling up the Presbyterian churches and most homes. With the arrest and banishment of her husband, the evacuation of her city, wounded everywhere and cannon fire filling the air, Elizabeth Drinker still had to tend to her six children. She found a moment of peace to reflect on the happenings of the previous fortnight at the only hour she could squeeze in to write a diary entry. "Tis now past 12 o'clock and all in the House except myself I believe asleep," she wrote. "The Watchman has cry'd the Hour and all seems quiet, a fine Star light morning."²⁸

The British entry into Philadelphia on September 26, 1777, was an orderly and somber affair. Both Fisher and Drinker noted "no wanton levity or indecent mirth" on the part of the soldiers. Their impression was corroborated by a young Whig witness of the occupation, sixteen-year-old Deboarh Norris, who saw "no exultation in the enemy nor indeed in those who are reckoned favorable to their success."²⁹ The restraint exhibited by the British troops (particularly in the city proper—the suburbs were a different matter) led to a generally favorable impression throughout the occupation. Still, when the cold weather struck, and Philadelphians were obliged to open their homes to the troops, Fisher and Drinker had to be ordered to take soldiers into their homes. The new-found proximity with their liberators brought the sober realization that nothing was resolved. Washington was ever at large while the British army imposed on the citizenry, eating up scarce supplies. Already suspect in Mrs. Fisher's book ("the toils of war don't suit some of their genius"), the army began to confiscate supplies from its supporters, particularly in the city's environs. Real disil-

lusionment visited Elizabeth Drinker when she daily heard "of enormities of one kind or other being committed by those from whome we ought to find protection."³⁰ As the war dragged on, the British army bore the brunt of Loyalist frustrations. After all, these women had seen the sad shape of Washington's army. Here was a clean, glistening, well-accounted force. How could they not finish off the barefoot rabble? But the women had made so many sacrifices as loyal subjects and here was a do-nothing army engaging in theatricals and fancy balls. The most extravagant of these affairs, the farewell party (called the *Meschianza*) given in honor of General William Howe, drew fire from a disgusted Elizabeth Drinker who wrote, "How insensible do these people appear while our Land is so greatly desolated." Hannah Griffitts shared Mrs. Drinker's disgust with the "shameful scene of dissipation" and she was particularly scandalized that women (both Whig and Tory) would participate in such immoral extravagance:

But recollection's pained to know
That ladies joined the frantic show
When female prudence thus can fail
It's time the sex should wear the veil.³¹

Anna Rawle, as ardent a loyalist as Sarah Fisher had become, complained that "one cannot help lamenting that the fate of so many worthy persons should be connected with the failure or success of the British army." Grace Galloway spared no venom in blaming the army for all her troubles, believing that General Howe had betrayed her and that the army's defeat could only be explained by the fact that "the greatest rebels was in the king's army."³²

With their husbands and friends banished to the wilds of western Virginia, Drinker and Fisher had no choice but to survive in a city filled with thousands of young soldiers whose own homes were thousands of miles away. Both women enjoyed the support of friends and fellow Quakers. (There was no mention, however, of any contact with Shoemaker and Galloway whose husbands were high-profile collaborators.) Even with support from a tightly-knit community, Drinker was alone when she had to care for her son Henry when his stools were bloody. They did not exempt her from shopping for scarce supplies, defending her home against impudent soldiers, sending her other children to school, or stealing a few moments at night to write to her husband.

Sarah Fisher simply stopped writing her diary for weeks at a time because of "frequent interruptions and engagements but more to a great depression of spirits." In November, 1777, an unexpected shipment of "Ship Stuff" had arrived from an order placed by her husband earlier in the summer. The contents were meant to sustain the family's cows but Sarah found them sweet enough to make bread for her family. "How little did my dear husband think when he provided those Barrels of Ship Stuff for the Cows," Sarah mused, "that we should be glad and rejoyce'd to make use

of them ourselves.”³³

The emergency called for new ways of carrying on in the day-to-day trial of occupied Philadelphia. Women of the Pemberton family, whose husbands were also in Winchester, found themselves making decisions they had never made before. Their letters to their husbands included information on family health, their fears and faith, and general gossip. Yet in one case, James Pemberton's son wrote to his exiled father that his stepmother had “sent the grey horses into the Jerseys for security,” adding that “Mother thought proper to cut all the Wood down at [the] Plantation” and “Mother had procur'd a Man and his wife to reside at the Plantation House.”³⁴

Everyday demands had to be met in the midst of exploding cannon, unwelcome soldiers quartered in homes, and constant rumors that Washington was about to pounce on Philadelphia. Both Drinker and Fisher complained of sleepless nights. Elizabeth Drinker's heart fluttered when she heard a drum stop at her door followed by a loud knocking. Later she complained of crime in the city by saying, “'tis hardly safe to leave the door open a minute.” Finally she concluded that “every noise now seems alarming that happens in the night.”³⁵

The worst of the noises were explosions. On November 21, 1777, both Fisher and Drinker reported being awakened before dawn by explosions that violently shook Drinker's windows and felt to Fisher like an earthquake. We have no account of their children's reactions to the terrifying night, but at the Pemberton House, seven-year-old Molly Pemberton recorded her reactions in a letter to her father in Virginia:

...last Sunday morning, I was so frightened with the roaring of Cannon I did not know what to do. Mamma told me not to be frightened but to lay in bed. Mama call'd Nanne up about 4 o'clock in the morning and sent her atop of the house to see where the firing was, for mamma thought it must be very near when Nanne came down she told Momma that the firing was above the town but such light down the river that she thought there must be a grate many houses afire. Mamma sent her up again, she counted nine ships all a fire down by Gloucester Point. If Dady had been at home, maybe mamma and sisters would not a been so frightened.³⁶

Hannah Griffitts captured the anxiety of this life in her poem entitled “Wrote on the Death of a Person who died of a Violent Nervous Disorder occasion'd by the Distress she suffered in the late Distracted Times.” Her once-vivacious friend had graced “the social hour” with stories that would “delight the ear.” Griffitts witnessed her friend's decline and described the progress of the nervous disorder:

...Thy Ruined State
Wounded by sorrow's shaft. Thy Mind a wreck
Toss'd by Temptuous waves; Thy troubled Breast
Sick of its weighty load—at length imparts

To its frail Habitation—and extends
The Mortal Malady—thro' every nerve.

Griffitts, a member of the Friends' Meeting, also wrote a poem to "My worthy Banish'd Friends in Virginia" in which she compared the exiles to the Chosen People in the desert who would be restored to "their native shore."³⁷

The British occupation of Philadelphia was in its sixth month when the wives of the Winchester exiles decided to take action. They all signed an Address asking for their husbands' release. A committee of four, including Elizabeth Drinker, journeyed to Lancaster where they met with General Washington, Timothy Matlack, and Joseph Reed of the Executive Council. Two weeks of frustrating negotiations with the Pennsylvania Council and Assembly at last resulted in the men's release. Even after the release order, Timothy Matlack expressed apprehension lest the women overwhelm the Patriot authorities. "The zeal and tenderness of these good women are so great," he wrote, "that it is with some difficulty and strong persuasion they are restrained from making further sollicitation before the arrival of their husbands which would in my opinion be unfavorable for them rather than advantageous." Matlack must have been persuasive in toning down the women's appeals because the Winchester exiles did make it back to Pennsylvania. Henry Drinker returned "much heartier than I expected, he looked fat and well," rejoiced his wife.³⁸

In June, 1778, the British evacuated Philadelphia. One day, Sarah Fisher gazed across the river (into what is now Camden, New Jersey) and saw white tents as far as the eye could see. The next morning, Elizabeth Drinker awoke to the absence of red-coats in the street "and the encampment in the Jerseys vanished. . . . The English have in reality left us and the other party took possession again." Mrs. Drinker's war weariness surfaces in this passage. Her experience with the two armies had left her with the belief that both imposed themselves unfairly on peaceable people. Hannah Griffitts shared this sentiment. She copied a poem she had read in the Tory newspaper about the devastation of the war on common people to which she added her own judgment: "In the above descriptive scene of desolation, the British and American Armies may each take their part share and share alike."³⁹

The American army entered Philadelphia the same day the British had left it. The Continentals had just spent the winter at Valley Forge. Deborah Norris, a sixteen-year-old Whig, claimed that General Benedict Arnold treated the city "as if we had been conquered from an enemy." However, out of 638 people accused of high treason, only seven were executed and 121 lost property.⁴⁰ Drinker and Fisher had ample cause to be nervous as their husbands persisted in their refusal to join the military or pay taxes while the lower sort pressed for more punishments. Both women's brothers-in-law were targets of American revenge. Samuel Fisher, Sarah's brother-in-law, was brought to trial for passing information to the enemy. When found "not guilty" by the jury, Fisher watched the judge send the jury back twice more before it brought in a verdict deemed more politically acceptable. "Fine liberty," snorted Mrs. Drinker. One of Elizabeth Drinker's kin, John Drinker, was taken up by a mob at the

Quaker meetinghouse only to be allowed to go home for dinner. Later, he was marched through the streets "with the Drum after 'em beating the Rogues March." In addition to these attacks on family members, both Fisher and Drinker mentioned the eviction of Grace Galloway and Rebecca Shoemaker from their homes.

A few days after the Americans re-occupied Philadelphia, Grace Galloway, the wife of the former Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly and the chief civil officer under the occupation, received a visit from a committee of men whom she considered to be of the lower sort. They came to take an inventory of her belongings and to inform her that her home was no longer her own. In the next two months, Grace Galloway resorted to every legal contrivance in order to save her property. But on August 20, 1778, there was a knock at the door:

They knocked violently at the door three times. . . . Hereupon which they went round in the yard and try'd every door but coul'd None open then they went to the kitchen door and with a scrubbing brush which they broke to pieces they forced that open. . . . We Women standing in the Entry in the Dark they made repeated strokes at the Door and I think was 8 or 10 minutes before they got it open when they came in I had the windows open'd they look'd very Mad . . .⁴¹

The man who wrenched Grace Galloway out of her house as she clung to the doorpost was the head of the Confiscation Committee, carrying out a law made by the new civil authorities. He was none other than Charles Willson Peale, who told Mrs. Galloway that "it was not the First Time he had a Lady by the Hand." In order to facilitate his work, the great portrait painter suggested that the lower story of every Tory house be painted black, a measure used by the Turks with respect to liars.⁴²

To add insult to injury, Mrs. Galloway told of walking back to her lodging in the pouring rain when a carriage passed and splattered her with mud. She realized it to be her own former coach, seized and sold to the Spanish ambassador. Grace Galloway never recovered from her eviction and particularly from the separation from her daughter. Her declining health and bitter loneliness made her feel like "a Pelican in the desert." She died in February, 1782.

The other high-profile eviction in town yielded a happier ending. Rebecca Shoemaker and her three children moved into a relation's home after her eviction. She was later brought up on charges by the Executive Council when a part of her journal was intercepted en route to her husband in New York. In it were "letters of recommendation" that "assisted prisoners and other Enemies to this Government and to the United States to pass clandestinely to New York." She was banished to New York (with the proviso that she could return in a year's time with the Council's permission) and so began a rich exchange of letters and diaries between herself and Anna Rawle, her daughter from her first marriage.⁴³

The return of the Americans did not mean an end to the anxieties of life for those abstaining from the war effort. When Quakers refused to put candles in their windows to signify their joy at Cornwallis' surrender, the mob went to work break-

ing windows, entering houses, and in some cases breaking furniture and injuring people. Just when he thought it was safe enough not to illuminate his windows, Sarah's husband, Thomas Fisher, found the mob at his door breaking all the downstairs windows. He spent the night upstairs with his wife. Anna Rawle, her sister Margaret, and her grandmother frantically ran through the house and into the yard to try to escape from the rioting townsmen. Elizabeth Drinker reported seventy panes of glass broken and a hopelessly cracked door.⁴⁴

Philadelphia's Loyalist and Disaffected women were indefatigable defenders of their families' survival. Yet they often pictured themselves, as in the incidents above, as the passive victims of senseless violence. The degree of their active participation in the Tory war effort is difficult to ascertain. If Whig authorities had not confiscated Mrs. Shoemaker's diary, we would never have known that she had assisted soldiers and Loyalists to reach New York. Rawle and Shoemaker repeatedly admonished one another not to write about political matters. The possibility of their writings being seized must have occurred to them. Elizabeth Drinker saw her husband's papers confiscated when they arrested him. The Pemberton women constantly reminded their exiled relatives that they could not write freely. With the Whigs back in control of Philadelphia, Sarah Fisher wrote less and less about politics. In a few short months, her diary became a mundane record of familial events. Acknowledging the fact that they may well have abstained from any pro-Loyalist activity, it must be kept in mind that if they did act, it is highly doubtful that the women would have written of their own clandestine action in diaries that could be seized.

Patriot women had the luxury of operating in a much more open fashion. Anna Rawle wrote to her mother in 1780 that a group of men had burst into the house searching for guns. Anna was accustomed to such interruptions in her daily routine, but she was hardly prepared for the exertions of her Whiggish sisters who on one occasion canvassed the city streets, inkstands in hand, to cajole citizens into contributing money to the war effort. Ale houses did not escape this unladylike attempt at extortion. Rawle realized that she was writing inimical material when she ended her letter by saying that "the freedom I have spoken with in this letter I know must not be used again—do not be uneasy, we shall be cautious." The following year, after the British took Charleston, South Carolina, Anna reported on the refugees arriving in Philadelphia, whose female contingent "quite forget the softness of their sex when they speak of the British. It is certain that some of the gentlemen have said 'That had not their wives behaved so insufferable ill to the English officers' they would still be in South Carolina."⁴⁵

The women of this study leave little evidence of so bold and public an expression of their sentiments. They subtly describe, however, an arduous journey of the spirit during the seven years of war. They stepped out at the Revolution's commencement with an air of confidence, knowing who was right and who was wrong. Foursquare against the war, they blamed American radicals whom they pictured in menacing, dirty, animal-like terms. Yet all the while that Sarah Fisher hoped for an

English victory, she could not divorce herself from her neighbors of a lifetime who happened to be on the other side of the ideological fence. Fisher referred to the American forces as "our American army"; Drinker noted with sorrow the death of an American soldier she had known.⁴⁶

The arrest of their husbands and friends began to clarify this confusing split allegiance. But in short order, the experience of British military occupation again muddied the waters. Aside from sharing limited housing and food, these women wondered why the well-attired British army did not finish off the shabbily-dressed American force. They had just seen the disheveled Americans scrambling for safety in the wake of the British thrust into the city. These women and their families had sacrificed so much to honor and maintain their own beliefs. They watched with disbelief the pathetic extent of the British contribution to the war effort, which seemed confined to the strategies of flirtation and intrigue as the glittering social season of the winter of '77 passed by.

Disillusioned and heartbroken by events like the exile of their relatives and the military occupation of both armies, these women had to deal as well with the unrelenting daily tensions that worked to fritter away at their composure. The war and their vulnerable position brought new meaning to the otherwise mundane question, "What would each new day bring?" Would they experience small insults from individuals on the street as they returned from the market? Would a hostile crowd be satisfied with simply shouting insults at a family not celebrating the Fourth or the French king's birthday or an American military victory? Would the rabble content itself with shattering some windows? Or would they break into houses? Or perhaps harm a family member? These women had no guarantee that the violence would be contained and they lived with this uncertainty day in and day out.

The possibility of catastrophe coupled with the new responsibilities assumed in the absence of their husbands only added to the psychological load borne by these women. They managed that stress in the middle of a military theater, making their story one of grace under pressure. During the winter of 1777, it was not uncommon for women to be completely absorbed in a household task like churning the butter or attending to a child when an explosion would rock the house. Think of seven-year-old Molly Pemberton's fright at the fires that could be plainly seen from her rooftop. Would the wind change? Would the fires come for her? Hannah Griffiths characterized her recently deceased seventy-year-old friend, Sarah Green, as "but one of the many whom our Distracted times greatly hurt both in temper and Circumstances by Plunging her into unexpected perplexities which she found extremely difficult for her to bear—or manage . . ." It is not much of a stretch to imagine that the excitements and uncertainties of this kind of life got the better of its participants on selected days and led to an overall feeling of physical and emotional exhaustion after several years of strain. So when peace came and their husbands returned in reasonable health, these women were happy to resume their old routines with the realization that as long as home and loved ones remained intact, it mattered less that the king's coat-of-arms was no longer displayed in the State House.⁴⁷

As depicted in these women's writings, the end of the war was anti-climactic. Although estimating correctly that in New York, thousands of Loyalists would opt to leave with the British army, Rebecca Shoemaker claimed that "the people in general seem pretty easy about the evacuation of this city." Back in Philadelphia in December of 1783, Mrs. Shoemaker wrote to her exiled husband that "the general temper of the people must be considerably changed with regard to the Loyalists for here are many who walk daily and publicly about the streets without meeting with any kind of incivility or insult; that could not have been done some months ago." She further reported that the Loyalists were not only enjoying blessed anonymity on the streets but that they were received at the highest levels of the new order. Former Tories now seemed "as happy at . . . the French Ministers or in any other Whig Society as ever they were in the select circle they once were the principles of." In the case of affluent Philadelphia society, the process of reconciliation was a relatively easy and ongoing affair even before the military hostilities ended.⁴⁸

With the exception of Grace Galloway, who died in 1782, the other women in this study lived long years into the new republic. Did the ready conciliation between Whig and Tory mean a change of heart with regard to the Revolution and its resultant government? Evidence provided by their later writings indicates that they still harbored resentment and a nostalgia for life before the conflict.

Sarah Logan Fisher relished the return to normality brought by the peace. The stresses of the war years left her especially aware of the importance of her family's well being: "To fulfill my Duty in the Station allotted me as Wife and Mother, dear names, endearing titles." She seemed philosophical about the fact that owning a large elegant house would be "improbable owing to our losses and the disadvantages we were under during the war." Yet she could not fathom why a cousin in England would want to return to America. "I know nothing short of religious duty that would induce me to return," she said.⁴⁹

It is impossible to ascertain how Anna Rawle and Rebecca Shoemaker evaluated the revolutionary years because evidence does not exist. Although her husband was considered a rank traitor in 1778, Rebecca Shoemaker welcomed him back home when he was permitted to return from exile in 1786. The reunited family never destroyed its strongly Loyalist letters and diaries, an indication perhaps that they were not ashamed of their political choices.

Throughout the rest of Elizabeth Drinker's life, she never lost the interest in politics that had been awakened by the Revolution. Amidst the details of caring for home and family recorded in her diary is the latest political news from home and abroad. She faithfully noted many Fourth of Julys, usually with disapproval, because of the disorder they produced. She was especially happy when it rained on the Fourth—"good for the Annaversity frolickers." In 1798, a new generation carried on the Fourth of July tradition, as Elizabeth explained, "My daughter Anne like many other Simpletons are gone to look, I expect many will be taken sick." In 1801, she read a news article on the ninth wonder of the world but could only sarcastically guess at the eighth. "I dont recollect hearing of the 8th Wonder," she wrote, "was it

General Washington or Tom Paine." In the same year, on the Fourth of July, Mrs. Drinker recorded her thoughts on the Declaration's twenty-fifth anniversary. "There has been Guns firing, Drums beating from day brake rejoycing for Independence," she complained, going on to say, "The most sensible part of the community have more reasons to lament than rejoyce in my opinion."⁵⁰

The "most sensible part of the community," as Mrs. Drinker termed her circle in Philadelphia, remained largely intact after the Revolution. Internecine dispute does not figure in the testimonies of these women. Through their recitation of break-ins, imprisonments, and confiscations, runs ample evidence of accommodation. The radical authorities and crowds did not necessarily mean strict business when they issued proclamations or seized a person. Sarah Fisher did not know one person who obeyed the order to dig ditches around the city. John Drinker was allowed to go home to dine before the mob marched him about the streets. Admittedly this forbearance was severely strained when the military emergency became especially acute. Still, Elizabeth Drinker noted that a surprising number of "our warm people" remained in Philadelphia during the British occupation. Whig and Tory ladies alike attended the Meschianza. When the Quaker committee trekked out to Lancaster to secure their husbands' release, they were greeted with open arms by Nelly Matlack, the wife of one of Philadelphia's most committed radicals. They drank a dish of tea with the Matlacks and dined with George and Martha Washington.

The years spent in neighborly peace before the Revolution appear to have outweighed political differences, both before and after, particularly in a climate where the Whigs felt no threat after mid-1778. The disaffected housewives of Philadelphia were not alone in feeling depleted at the war's end. Everyone was exhausted and so executions and evictions were few. Such mild treatment aided the easy reconciliation that took place in elite Philadelphia even before the end of hostilities. It helped that prominent Whigs and Tories both warily eyed the lower sort whose aspirations raised fear in both camps, allowing past differences to fade in light of this new challenge from below. It is no surprise that the memory of a divided community faded so quickly when the principals themselves so easily buried the hatchet. Indeed, the next generation, in the person of Elizabeth Drinker's daughter, ran out to the Fourth of July celebration much to the chagrin of her mother.

The national healing did not erase memories of the anxiety and outrage experienced by the women of this study. They expressed their disapproval of America after the Revolution, but this unhappiness did not incite their families to move to Canada or to Britain. If anything, the Revolution made them political cynics. A close experience with the two armies prompted Grace Galloway to criticize them both. When the British marched into Philadelphia, Elizabeth Drinker sighed, "Well, here are the English in earnest." When they marched out, her weariness is in evidence, "The English have in reality left us and the other party took possession again." In their crisis, the women leaned increasingly on the strength provided by their religious beliefs which included the absolute necessity of peace. This heightened religious awareness made them realize, if they had not already, that it takes two armies to make a war and

that neither the English nor the Americans had the corner on righteousness. In this regard, our poet deserves the last word:

The Glorious fourth—again appears
A Day of days—and year of years.
The scene of sad disasters
Where all the mighty gains we see
With all their boasted Liberty
Is only—Change of Masters.⁵¹

Notes

1. *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 9, 1777, p. 3.
2. Sarah Logan Fisher, "Diary," July 4, 1777. Historical Society of Pennsylvania (hereafter HSP).
3. Much of the work on the Disaffected/Loyalists does not give much space to women's experience. See Wallace Brown, *The King's Friends: The Composition and Motives of the American Loyalist Claimants* (Providence, 1965). He devotes two paragraphs to women's activities on the homefront and in the brothel, explaining that "female Loyalists, in their own right are no more regularly found in any other spheres of life in the eighteenth century." (p. 30). He justifies well-nigh ignoring women with his less-than-felicitously phrased dismissal: "Women's role was usually between the sheets, behind the scenes or at least behind the parlor curtains." Although Mary Beth Norton wrote an important book on the American Loyalists in Great Britain entitled *The British Americans: The Loyalist Exiles in England, 1774-1789* (Boston, 1972), there is not much mention of Loyalists in her 1980 book, *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women* (Boston, 1980). Norton wrote a *William and Mary Quarterly* article, 33 (July 1976): 386-409, on Loyalist women's claims, the point of which was that they did not know much about their husbands' business affairs. Linda Kerber gives more play to Loyalists in her 1980 book, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill, 1980). The emphasis in her discussion of Loyalists is on women's dower rights. She also makes the very important point that since married women owned no property independently, they were thought to have no independent political capacity. Whig wives of Loyalists, for example, had a tough time retrieving property once their husbands had fled. See Wayne Bodle, "Jane Bartram's 'Application': Her Struggle for Survival, Stability, and Self-Determination in Revolutionary Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 115 (April 1991): 185-220 (hereafter *PMHB*). See also Martha Slotten, "Elizabeth Graeme Ferguson: A Poet in 'The Athens of North America,'" *PMHB*, 108 (July 1984): 259-272. For a fascinating view of Revolutionary Philadelphia from the view of those breaking Mrs. Fisher's windows, see Steven Rosswurm, *Arms, Country and Class: The Philadelphia Militia and the 'Lower Sort' during the American Revolution 1775-1783* (New Brunswick, 1987). Another good look at the motivation of the lower sort is Paul Gilje's *The Road to Mobocracy* (Chapel Hill, 1987): 5-78.
4. Hannah Griffiths, "The Glorious 4th of July 1777," Pemberton Papers, vol. 30, p. 58, HSP. It is interesting to note that Griffiths thought it improper to attack any native-born American, whether Quaker or Tory. Hannah Griffiths (1726-1817) was the granddaughter of Isaac Norris and the daughter of a former mayor of Philadelphia. She wrote poetry throughout her life on deceased friends, the Revolution, the yellow fever epidemic of 1793, and anniversary poems on the day of her mother's death from 1750 to 1803. When she died in 1817 at the age of 91, it was said that she "bore the season of long protracted age, blindness and infirmity with great patience and unaffected dignity." (Wistar Scrapbook, OP2 A1707.0, Library Company of Philadelphia). Many thanks to Denise Larrabee at The Library Company of Philadelphia for drawing my attention to Griffiths.
5. Sarah Logan Fisher, "Diary," November 1, 1777.
6. Rebecca Shoemaker, "Diary," August 11, 1781, HSP.
7. Joseph Galloway in *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 15, 1775, p. 3; John Hancock in *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 12, 1775, p. 2.
8. Elizabeth Drinker, *The Diary of Elizabeth Drinker*, ed. Elaine F. Crane (Boston, 1991), September 6, 1775. See also *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 27, 1775, and Colonial Records of Pennsylvania, Minutes of the Council of Safety, vol. 10 (Harrisburg, 1852): 701.
9. John Pemberton, "The Ancient Testimony and Principles of the People called Quakers." Broadside Collection, HSP.
10. Officers of the Military Association in *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 15, 1775, p. 2.
11. William B. Willcox, ed. *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* (New Haven, 1982), p. 643, October 1, 1776. For the Drinkers and the Continental money controversy, see *The*

Pennsylvania Gazette, February 14, 1776, p. 4.

12. Christopher Marshall, "Diary" July 25-26, 1776, HSP. The printed version of Marshall's diary, edited by William Duane in 1877, identifies the abducted woman as a Mrs. Arrall.

13. Hannah Griffiths, "On Reading Some Paragraphs in the Crises," April 1777, Hannah Griffiths Papers, Box 1, The Library Company of Philadelphia.

14. Fisher, "Diary," December 2, 1776, vol. 1, p. 11-12. Boy Jim may well have been a black servant or slave. Later in her diary, Mrs. Fisher mentions the fear of a friend with respect to the possible forced recruitment of her son.

15. Fisher, "Diary," December 9, 1777.

16. Drinker, *The Diary of Elizabeth Drinker*, July 16, 1776; January 25, 1777; March, 1777.

17. *Barclay's Apology* is shorthand for Robert Barclay's 1678 work entitled *Apology for the True Christian Divinity: as the same is held forth and preached by the people, called in scorn, Quakers*. For Lansing's comments on Quakers, including his belief that the Quakers would not dare to ignore Schuyler's request for blankets, see John Lansing to Richard Varick, Philadelphia, April 10 and May 29, 1777, Richard Varick Papers, New-York Historical Society (Hereafter NYHS). In a later letter, Lansing reiterates one of the disaffected group's main concerns when he deplores the confusion and in-fighting that characterized "Government" in Philadelphia at that time. See John Lansing to Richard Varick, Philadelphia, May 2, 1777, Richard Varick Papers, NYHS. It should be noted at this point that there were Quakers who sided with the Whigs, most notably Timothy Matlack and Christopher Marshall. Matlack had been disowned in 1765 by the Meeting for keeping company with the wrong set and incurring debts. Marshall was disowned for this activity in the war. Both men were active organizers of the Society of Free Quakers for those Friends who actively supported the American cause.

18. Fisher, "Diary," October 9, 1777, vol. 1, p. 38. When she finally saw the leader of these infernals in the flesh, she reported that Washington "appeared grave and thoughtfull"; Rebecca Shoemaker to Anna and Margaret Rawle, May 16, 1789, HSP.

19. Anna Rawle to Rebecca Shoemaker, May 18, 1781, HSP. The militia was frightening even to

one of their number. Steven Rosswurm in *Arms, Country and Class*, quotes Thomas McKean, colonel of a militia company, as saying that his men were "some of the most rude, turbulent, impudent, lazy, dirty fellows that 'he' had ever beheld." (p. 120); see also Wayne Bodle, "This Tory Labyrinth: Community, Conflict, and Military Strategy during the Valley Forge Winter," in Michael Zuckerman, ed., *Friends and Neighbors: Group Life in America's First Plural Society* (Philadelphia, 1982): 232.

20. Fisher, "Diary," January 3, 1777.

21. Anna Rawle, "Diary," February 22, 1782, HSP.

22. For Galloway quote, see John E. Ferling, *The Loyalist Mind: Joseph Galloway and the American Revolution*, (University Park, 1977): 75. For Whig Loyalist material, see William Allen Benton, *Whig-Loyalism: An Aspect of Political Ideology in the American Revolutionary Era*, (Cranbury, 1969): 17. Once in England, some Loyalist refugees felt pride in the success of American arms, especially since the British held an overwhelming conviction of superiority over the provincials. See William H. Nelson, *The American Tory* (Boston, 1961): 163.

23. *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 10, 1777.

24. Fisher, "Diary," September 21, 1777, vol. 3, p. 81.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 70, 73.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

27. Drinker, *The Diary of Elizabeth Drinker*, September 15, 19, 24, 1777.

28. *Ibid.*, October 4, 1777.

29. Deborah Norris, "Recollections on the Occupation," Watson's Annals, AM. 301, vol. 2, p. 395, HSP. Later, she explained the relatively good behavior of the British soldiers quartered in her mother's home by recording the soldiers' own feelings "that living among the inhabitants and speaking the same language, made them uneasy at the thought of acting like enemies." Watson's Annals, vol. 2, p. 396.

30. Drinker, *The Diary of Elizabeth Drinker*, December 13, 1777.

31. Drinker, *The Diary of Elizabeth Drinker*, May 18, 1778; Hannah Griffiths "Mechianza" or "Answer to the Question What is It?" AM30163, p. 29, Library Company of Philadelphia.

32. Rawle, "Diary," October 22, 1781; Grace Galloway, *The Diary of Grace Growden Galloway*, ed. Raymond C. Werner (New York, 1971): 163. Joseph Galloway echoed his wife's sentiments in claiming that the "conduct of the British Generals was treasonous." See Ferling, *The Loyalist Mind*: 51. For more examples of disillusionment with the British army, see Anne Ousterhout, *A State Divided: Opposition in Pennsylvania to the American Revolution* (Westport, 1987): 177. Also see Joseph S. Tiedemann, "Patriots by Default: Queens County, New York, and the British Army, 1776-1783," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser. 43 (January 1986): 3-33; Nelson, *The American Tory*: 134-152.
33. Fisher, "Diary," November 5, 1777, vol. 4, p. 40.
34. Phineas to James Pemberton, November 11, 1777, vol. 31, Pemberton Papers, HSP.
35. Drinker, *The Diary of Elizabeth Drinker*, December 10, 22, 1777.
36. Maria (Molly) Smith, Publication to James Pemberton, November 24, 1777, vol. 31, Pemberton Papers, HSP.
37. Hannah Griffiths, "Wrote on the Death of a Person who died of a Violent Nervous Disorder Occasioned by the Distress She Suffered in the Late Distracted Times," April 1780, Hannah Griffiths Papers, 7422.F, Library Company of Philadelphia.
38. Drinker, *The Diary of Elizabeth Drinker*, April 25, 1778. Timothy Matlack to Samuel Allinson, April 15, 1778, Allison Collection, Haverford College Library: The Quaker Collection.
39. Drinker, *The Diary of Elizabeth Drinker*, June 19, 1778; Hannah Griffiths, "Taken from Humphry's Paper of 11th of February 1778, A Poem," 7422.F.55, Library Company of Philadelphia.
40. Of the four men tried and executed for treason, two were elderly Quakers (Abraham Carlisle and John Roberts). Elizabeth Drinker called these death warrants "shocking doings!" See Drinker, *The Diary of Elizabeth Drinker*, October 17, 1778. The other two men tried and executed for treason were Ralph Morden and George Spangler. Another man, Abijah Wright, was accused of treason but executed for burglary. Hugh Jones and David Dawson were executed without trial. See Anne Ousterhout, "Controlling the Opposition in Pennsylvania during the Revolution," *PMHB*, 105 (January 1981): 23. With the Philadelphia campaign winding down, the Disaffected community's worries were far from over. See *The Pennsylvania Evening Post*, July 18, 1778. The article's anonymous author speculated on why Philadelphia's citizens exhibited a "backwardness" in informing against traitors. The author figured that those Whigs who remained in town during the occupation had to fly to the shelter of Tory neighbors in order to avoid the horrors of jail. The Tories' protection was not a disinterested act of humanity, claimed the outraged Whig, but rather an insurance policy in the event that the British were forced to leave.
41. Galloway, *The Diary of Grace Growden Galloway*: 51.
42. Before the day of eviction, Peale had promised Mrs. Galloway that she could rent her mansion. To his mortification, Peale subsequently learned that a fellow agent had already rented it to someone else. For this episode in Peale's papers, see Lillian B. Miller, ed. *The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family*, vol. 1: 291.
43. Colonial Records of Pennsylvania, Minutes of the Supreme Executive Council, vol. 12, (Harrisburg, 1853): 271.
44. Thomas Fisher to Samuel Fisher, October 24, 1781, Cadwallader Collections, J. Francis Fisher Section, Box 9, HSP. Thomas Fisher had just expressed his confidence that he did not expect much trouble concerning the Cornwallis defeat when his letter-writing was interrupted by the mob. Anna Rawle, "Diary," October 25, 1781. Also printed in *PMHB*, 16 (1892): 103-107.
45. Anna Rawle to Rebecca Shoemaker, June 30, 1780 and September 19, 1781, "Letters and Diaries — Shoemaker 1780-1782," Am.13745 (typescript), HSP.
46. Drinker, *The Diary of Elizabeth Drinker*, September 27, 1777.
47. Drinker, *The Diary of Elizabeth Drinker*, See entries throughout autumn, 1777. Hannah Griffiths, undated scrap on the death of Sarah Green who died on October 21, 1784, Hannah Griffiths Papers, Library Company of Philadelphia.

48. Rebecca Shoemaker to Samuel Shoemaker, December 13, 1783, HSP. For the elites, reconciliation took place quickly. The women who attended the Meschianza were invited to the ball in honor of the French officers when the Continental army returned to Philadelphia. See Thomas Jones, *History of New York during the Revolutionary War and of the Leading Events in the Other Colonies during that Period*, ed. Floyd De Lancey (New York, 1879): 719. The American government allowed many former Tories to return as in the case of Samuel Shoemaker in 1786. One of the few exceptions to this practice was Joseph Galloway whose peti-

tion to return to America was turned down in 1793.

49. Sarah Logan Fisher, "Letterbook of Sarah Logan Fisher," pp. 43 and 72, Haverford College Library: The Quaker Collection.

50. Drinker, *The Diary of Elizabeth Drinker*, July 5, 1802; July 4, 1798; Dec. 30 1801; July 4, 1801. The article on the ninth wonder of the world concerned the discovery of a mastodon's head.

51. Hannah Griffitts, "The Glorious Fourth—Over Again," Hannah Griffitts Collection, Library Company of Philadelphia